1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

on other occasions, such as the visiting of a relative's grave or at the task called *lanu kilikili* (p. 201).

A *tua* never sang his mourning song for a deceased chief or matapule. Only the chief's near relatives and ranking friends had the privilege of so mourning for him.

Every time a new contingent of mourners arrived at the place of death, the fact became evident from the loud, energetic nature of the singing. This zest soon died down until the songs blended monotonously into the general confusion of the ensemble of mourning. All mourning laments made constant use of the word *oiaue* (alas). The term *fakapo* (literally murder) is also employed. Thus, when women mourn they beat their breasts and cry, "Fakapo, fakapo."

When a chief died, all his *tua* retainers "cut" (singed) off their hair as a sign of mourning (*tauangaa*). The hair was not "bobbed," but was removed quite close to the scalp. There seems to be some doubt as to whether matapule followed this practice, and chiefs are said never to have cut their hair as a sign of mourning, except upon the death of the Tui Tonga or Tamaha, when all the inhabitants of Tonga shaved their heads. The heads of immature children are shaved on the death of their father as a sign of respect and mourning.

Because of the tapu of the head of a deceased person, a visitor lower in rank sits at some distance at the foot of the corpse. Nowadays it is common to kiss the dead person's face, but after so doing an inferior relative sits in the part of the room towards the feet of the corpse and the visit is not long.

The term *fakakoloa* means to enshroud a corpse with tapa and mats. A great pile of these was spread over the body of one of rank and distinction. This work was done by women only, including all the wives and women of the chief and of his retainers. A hand barrow or bier called *fata* served to carry a corpse. When the *fata* was made for the body of a Tui Tonga, Tui Tonga Fefine, or Tamaha, a great many men shouldered the poles to carry it.

A house, like a dwelling house, to which a chief was taken when thought to be dying, was called *faletolia*. The house was specially constructed for this prospective event. Here the chief was left to die, all his matapule and retainers gathering about him to mourn and take care of him. Or if a chief should die suddenly, his corpse would be taken to such a house to lie in state. The *tua* from among a chief's retainers did all of the manual labor in connection with the upkeep of the *faletolia*, the *haatufunga* attending to the official and ceremonial duties. After the burial the house might be burned or the sister's son (*fahu*) of the deceased might claim it as a future place of dwelling. Previous to this, all the mats and other household effects as-

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

associations with gallant adventures, or are suitable for lovers' walks. Such allusions are characteristic of Tongan poetry, which seldom deals in outspoken passion.

2. Falaovuna (Mat of Vuna) is a beach. Level stretches of sand or sward are not infrequently named *fala* (mat) of some notable personage of history or tradition.

3. "Landsman," that is one unskilled in things of the sea; here, a man unskilled, unsuccessful, in love.

4. Two rods are placed out over the stern of the canoe in bonito fishing. The inference is that the gallant has won the favors of two ladies.

5. The line means "my ivory [hook] with a fringe or decoration of red-birds' feathers"; hence a hook that is valuable and attractive. A variant can be translated "feather of double bird."

6. The word *lafo* (thrown) is used of presenting mats.

7. The ill-fortune is that the poet has gone off the track and almost passed without mention a place that should be mentioned.

8. Kaunimasini; an overhanging rock.

9. Makaoo; a rock.

10. Holoni is the name of some scattered bowlders at the foot of one of the Vavau cliffs. The phrase means an unsuccessful fishing day, an interpretation is that these rocks are washed by the sea, but do not take any fish; that man will endure being wetted by the sea because he gets fish, but a rock has no such compensation. Possibly the idea that this is not a good fishing place is included in the expression and also a reminiscence of an unsuccessful love affair of the bard's. Besides meaning washed by the sea, the phase signifies boats getting together and sharing provisions. Crews will not eat while bonito or shark are in sight, so there is the possible interpretation of getting together to eat because there is no fishing worth troubling about.

11. Tave, a cliff.

12. Potuitoume, a rock standing in the sea.

13. The *pipihele* is a plant (*Hernandia moerenhoutiana*).

Page 106. Vavau

1. The poem celebrates the beauty of Vavau, a theme worthy of the muse. In form it is an imaginary excursion over headlands, hills, and beaches. Many of the places named are *matanga* (lookout places, eminences), many on the coast, whence a good view may be obtained.

2. Kafoa and Aloitalau (or simply Talau) are hills.

3. Tuanuku, Teleki, Fau, Pau, and Utukalongalu are names of beaches. The following five lines contain names of *matanga*.

4. Finemaukava is a *matanga*.

5. Paleamote and Kalae are the names of two *api* (tracts of land, compounds). There is no one English word to render *api*. It is the nearest equivalent to "home."

6. Fukotokanga, Fukomafa, Fakatoumamana, names of *api*.

7. Two *matanga*.

8. Sisilouango and Tatauoalo, names of *matanga*.

9. Vaimasiniake, a pool.

10. Potuitoume; a rock standing in the sea. The word means end or stump, of a torch. A goddess (Hina?) went fishing with a torch, and when she had finished she threw the end of it into the sea as she went ashore. This rock is the end of the torch.

Pages 106-107. Weather coast of Selenga

1. This poem is in praise of a locality named Selenga, which is evidently on the weather coast of some part of Vavau. Not all of the names mentioned have been identified, but those that have are of places in Vavau.

2. The name Koate is unidentified. There is a Vavau chief of this name.

3. The line *Malama e taulaki penepena* interpreted means, "Gleam [the chiefs who have] dressed their heads with lime."

4. Taiheunga (Smite the crab) and Mahinaea (Appearing moon) are the chiefs whose beauty fresh from bathing is spoken of. It is possible, however, that these are place names.

5. I was unable to find the meaning of *tofalea*. (Compare the Samoan, *tofale*, to build houses.) Houses were built on mounds, *kolonga*, near the *sia*, to keep apparatus

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

in, and for the care and convenience of the huntsmen. Provisionally, but with little confidence I have translated as though buildings of this sort are referred to. The word *ko* is frequently used, as here, between noun and adjective, indicating that the quality referred to by the adjective is possessed in a high degree.

6. Literally, "Ka ta naka heu elito'i hea" means "We shall handle [for] snaring [of] *elitoi hea*." There seems no special reason for mentioning the wood *elitoi hea* except that it was frequently used for making the frame of the pigeon net. *Naka* is properly the handle of the net, but here the word is used verbally, and means "we [shall use as a] handle." The net was fixed between two long poles, hinged like a pair of scissors, with forks on the lower ends (*muniao*) to rest on the thigh, and was closed when the birds entered by pressing the handles together. The *naka* is the part between the hinge and the *muniao*, and was of considerable length. The man who wielded the net was covered with leaves, and sat in a tree on a convenient rest made for that purpose. There is a verse describing the snarer's operations:

Ta ki tu'a 'ae kau-fanga,	Strike outwards the *kaufanga*,
Ta ki loto 'ae kau-vao,	Strike inwards the *kauvao*,
Pea ta omi 'ae muniao,	And press down the *muniao*,
Pea kuku kau-naka.	And grasp the handle.

The *kaufanga* and *kauvao* are the two sides respectively of the frame just where the net hangs. The *naka* was long so that the net projected from the hiding-place, and was turned about in all directions to intercept the flying birds. "Strike outwards, strike inwards," perhaps mean no more than open the net well, one side opening away from the tree, and the other towards it.

7. The word *ahe ia*, sung by the chorus, probably marks a change of key or tune. The rhyme changes at the lines where *ahe ia* appears.

8. Duck in its flying "Toloa ene puna" is a pun on the name of this surf riding beach. The flying of this duck is the flying spray.

Page 107. A poem of Veehala

1. The author is probably a bard of Hihifo. References to a man-of-war, and to a book, indicate that the poem was composed after the introduction of Christianity, or at any rate after contact with Europeans. It is a complaint that some ill advised action has become magnified in common talk out of all proportion to the real fault.

2. The more obvious meaning of this line is that his life is very sweet to him; but it is possible that the meaning is that he has become a choice tit-bit to the gossips, it has been so interpreted by a very competent Tongan.

3. By "talk of death," "mention of death," is meant either that the accusation against him places his life in danger, or, that the report is that he has caused the death of someone. Perhaps both meanings are included.

4. Here is recalled the fact that there is a great chief who will give protection, evidently a chief of Hihifo, and quite possibly the Tui Kanokupolu himself. This is indicated in two metaphors, one of pigeon-snaring, and the other of bonito-fishing. Matamoana is a pigeon mound in Hihifo. The idea is repeated in the metaphor of the Sacred Reef, Hakau Tapu, a fishing ground of the Hihifo chiefs.

5. A double meaning is introduced, both to go early in the morning to a fishing ground and to go to a chief with a presentation (*pongipongi*). The line means that a wise man goes quickly when the propitious time arrives.

6. A sigh for the good old days, before the invasion of the new-fangled book learning and ways. What he had done would have caused little comment in the old "foolish" and "dark" days; it was merely the sort of thing that any old heathen might have done; but now it has become a subject of talk in the assembly (*fono*); or, that it has been talked about as much as if it had been of sufficient importance to be placed before one of these gatherings.

7. "The book left in Hihifo," the Reverend J. Thomas, the pioneer of the effective Christianization of the group, landed in Hihifo in 1826; though Nukualofa, where there were two other missionaries of the Wesleyan Methodist church. Before the Wesleyans came, Hihifo was the center for the ill-fated band of missionaries belonging to the London Missionary Society, who landed in 1797 and who were forced to leave the group soon after the outbreak of war in 1800, leaving three of their men as martyrs.

7: McKern A-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

coast of the island, just north of the village of Ohonua, a fresh-water stream flows into the sea. Its high precipitous banks are composed of coral limestone and pitted at intervals with caves. Two of these caves have floor deposits of refuse very rich in ash and charcoal which proved well worth investigation.

1. Cave on the north side of the stream, close to its mouth. The natives who were consulted knew of no name for the cave, nor of any one who had lived there, cooked there, or used it for other purposes. The cave offered little room for any activity.

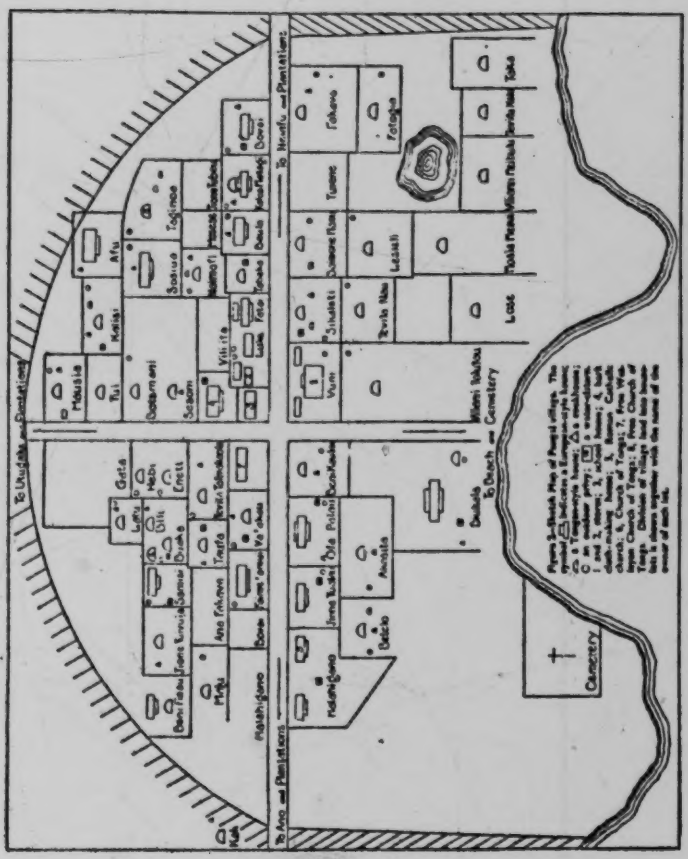
The orifice of the cave is but 4 feet high, about 10 feet wide, and decreases in size as it recedes horizontally into the cliff for a distance of 8 to 9 feet. However, it offers good shelter from the wind, sun, and rain, as the cliff above the orifice leans out protectingly, and on either side of the cave the cliff extends seaward for a short distance, leaving the site exposed in but one direction. The cave faces somewhat west of northwest. The north side of the cave floor consists of a rocky shelf. The south side is dominated by a perpendicular crevice, 3.9 feet in width at the mouth and gradually narrowing towards the back of the cave. This crevice, to a depth of 3.7 feet, was entirely filled with kitchen refuse, the deposit resting upon yellowish gravel of natural origin. Excavation of this deposit produced nothing indicative of European contact. Many marine shells, a few bones of fish and small land animals, and twenty-two small pieces of primitive pottery were found (p. 115). These were well scattered from top to bottom of the deposit, but were more numerous near the bottom; thus, thirteen of the sherds were found in the bottom 14 inches.

The smallness of the cave argues against its use as a dwelling place. On the other hand, just such caves are still in use in Eua as kitchens, or cooking places. The protection afforded against wind and rain favors such use. In all probability, this cave was a kitchen.

That no indications of contact with European culture were found in this deposit indicates a comparative plentitude of pottery preceding European contact.

2. Cave on the south side of the stream, nearly opposite Cave 1 and almost within the limits of the village of Ohonua. Cave 2 bears the name Anatuli (Cave-of-refuge). This comparatively large cave faces north, its floor being about 15 feet above stream level. From its orifice, 33 feet wide, the cave expands somewhat near its center and contracts again at the rear, and is 8 feet in height at the center of the arch. The floor has a maximum horizontal depth of 26 feet, its outer edge merging into a steep decline, or wash, which ends in a flat terrace 5 feet below. The more or less level surface of the floor is uniformly discolored from an abundance of fine charcoal, or soot. Old residents of Ohonua accounted for this discoloration by the fact that, within their memories, the cave had been extensively used as a place where *tuitui* nuts were burned for the purpose of obtaining soot for use as a color pigment.

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai


To Utulaha and Plantations
To Hinefo and Plantations
To Ano and Plantations
Fakavo
Fotuaho
Tuvave
Lasiti
Vuni
Mission Station
Cemetery
Ahu
Tui
Kaisi
Fakafanua
Tokaikolo
Mataafi
Fatafehi
Tuita
Ano Fakavo
Mafi
Ma'afu
Tupou
Tubou
Aisake
Dalaka
Tuku
Ulu
Ngatu
Kava
Mat
Oil
Drums
Pots
Boats
Pigs
Fowls
Yams
Taro
Coconuts
Bananas
Breadfruit
Plan Sketch Plan of Pangai village. The
Residency
Chief's
Cemetery
Church of Tonga
Free Wesleyan
Church of Tonga
Free Wesleyan
Church of Tonga
Free Wesleyan

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

blow at the time of, or immediately after, heavy rains when the ground is soft and consequently the roots of the trees have little grip in the muddy, yielding soil.

THE VILLAGE

Pangai village is a relatively self-contained economic unit. The villagers look upon their village as their chief source of satisfaction for both work and play. There is, of course, continual coming and going between Pangai and other nearby villages. On the half dozen times each year when the banana and tourist boat calls at Neiafu (population in 1931, 1610 people), many Pangai people, men mostly, congregate in Neiafu to see the sights and to gossip with relatives and friends from other villages. Each year a few youths from the village go off to school in Nukualofa, capital and chief port of the Kingdom on distant Tongatapu, 170 miles to the south. They travel by small motor vessel or more hazardous cutter. Sometimes they return to Pangai for the annual vacation. Often they stay with relatives in Tongatapu until their schooling is finished. Adults rarely make the journey to Tongatapu. For the most part they stay in the village, relieving monotony by occasional visits to Neiafu.

The map of Pangai village (Fig. 2), sketches the lay-out of house-lots which together take up an area of about 20 acres. There are four church buildings. One of these is of European, church-like form; another is a small simple four-square board structure; the remaining two are Tongan-style architecture. The school-house is a small frame building, bare inside and out. The children sit on the floor. The community bark-cloth-making house stands next to the school-house. It is a large frame building that stands empty and unused most of the year. The two stores are again small frame buildings with large copra-drying platforms and small copra storehouses alongside.

The style of house common in the village is also indicated on Figure 2. Of the 50 dwelling houses, 36 or 72 per cent. are Tongan style, 14 or 28 per cent. are European frame houses with iron roofs. Most of the Tongan style houses are built according to old-time native practice with coconut-sheet wall-screens and coconut mat thatching. A

A. [See category 116, p. 9--Analyst]

342 [178] few more of them retain Tongan shape but have frame walls and iron roofs. The old time Tongan house has the advantage of being cool and is fairly easily built. Frame houses are costly to build and hot to live in, but they have the advantage of being generally free from insects and will stand against all but the severest winds. Most of the villagers, if they were [177] free to choose, would build for themselves a European style [185] frame house. It is the ambition of most, indeed, to possess just such a house before they die.

343 514 Practically all the dwelling-houses have an adjacent cook-house. A privy is also found on most household lots. These privies are of the type introduced by Dr. S. M. Lambert as a method of combating hookworm and other tropical 312 diseases. For the whole village there are fourteen concrete cisterns collecting rainwater from the iron roofs of adjacent dwelling-houses to supply the village with water for drinking and domestic purposes. By amicable arrangement house-holders who do not have a cistern on their lot use the water from the cisterns of close relatives or friends. The cisterns are supposed to be kept covered as a health precaution. Most [164] of them are open. As a consequence, typhoid is by no means an unknown disease.

361 342 There is one dwelling-house only outside the village limits. This is situated on the nearby plantation of its owner, a plantation which borders on the boundary of the village proper. This location of the dwelling-house may [178] well represent a survival of old-time practice when the population lived in the plantations rather than grouped together in a village unit. This grouping of the Tongan 361 565 178 177 commoners in villages has apparently taken place since 1773 and is probably due to a breakdown of central authority, consequent wars and fighting, together with the subsequent influence of the Christian missions and the traders.

361 491 The village is intersected by two main "roads" that lead to the beach, the plantations, to near-by villages. By "road" is meant a twenty-foot wide strip of land that is called a road, but is grass-grown for the most part with a narrow track down the middle wide enough for foot or horse travel. Round the village, these "roads" are thick in mud and hard to pass during the rainy season, even on

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

these clothes at any other time. Clothing therefore is a blend of old and new, but when materials and clothing-styles are both considered, it is again difficult to say in any simple fashion whether current practice is more nearly related to aboriginal or European custom.

Finally, to take but one more example, there has been in the field of housing a transfer of both form and materials. In the village today one sees frame houses with iron roofs of European form, frame houses with iron roofs of Tongan form, and thatched houses of aboriginal form and materials. This refers only to dwelling- and sleep-houses. Separate cook-houses are uniformly of Tongan materials and form, while the privies are uniformly frame structures of European form. Is the present housing of the villager more European than Tongan as regards both form and materials? Again it is hard to give a simple answer.

Village attitudes in regard to both clothing and housing may perhaps be best understood partly as an expression of a substitution of new for old which, to use Parsons' phrase, gives "an old habit of mind a new expression" or uses "something new in accordance with something old."[34]

When we consider social and economic organization, answers are equally hard. At one end of the scale, treatment of disease is almost purely in terms of Tongan concepts and materials with such exception, for instance, as in the control of a typhoid outbreak when quarantine is enforced and European medical treatment often welcome, or in such surgical practice as the supercision of adolescent boys, where the tendency in the village is to expect such surgery to be carried out at the hospital in Neiafu. At the other end of the scale might be placed religion, where Christianity has been taken over lock, stock, and barrel, and there are relatively few survivals of either knowledge or belief in aboriginal religious forms. A Christian morality based on Biblical teaching has also become the accepted morality of the community.

[34] See Parsons, E. C., *Mitla, Town of the Souls*, Chicago, 1936, for a consideration of the role of this factor, among others, in culture-contact. Herskovits, M. J. has a brief but valuable discussion of this and other studies of acculturation in his book, *Acculturation*, New York, 1938.

18: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1923 OU9 Tonga OU9

MARRIAGE IN TONGA.

By E. E. V. Collocott.

A buggy, gay with floating mat and festooned with flower-decked girdles, drives along the road, and stops before one of the Missions. A girl is assisted to alight; she needs assistance; free action is made impossible by the voluminous folds of native cloth with which she is enveloped from bosom to feet. The bride, for bride she is, is joined by her lover, and together they present themselves before the minister; friends and relatives crowd in after them. They hand over the permit to marry issued by the Government, without which Tongan citizens may not wed. The short Church marriage service is soon finished, certificates are signed, a small fee is collected, and the officiating clergyman, under threat of dire pains of a monetary sort, must attend to registration with due promptitude. Usually no ring is given, but all the civil and religious procedure is essentially the same as marks the espousals of an English country youth and maid. All is in fact conducted under an English legal instrument which owes its being to the Western Pacific Commission. The civil and religious ceremonies have the same validity as in England, to confer legitimacy on offspring, and ensure rights of succession.

In all this there has been nothing Tongan, excepting the great cumbrous dress of native cloth worn by the bride, and the fact that she perhaps drove to and away from the Mission house seated on the knee of one of her relatives. But when the requirements of modern law have been satisfied, bride and bridegroom and relatives hie away home, and in the wedding feast perform in essence the ancient marriage ceremony, which is an exchange of food and other gifts between the relatives of the bride and the relatives of the bridegroom. The ceremony takes place at a house selected by the groom's people, either his own house or one belonging to some other member of his family. Along the front of the house a pretty and cool shelter of green coconut leaves has been erected, a sort of temporary verandah, in which is arranged a heap of mats and native cloth to serve as a dais or throne. The bride awaits her husband in the home of her parents—nowadays she returns thither after the religious marriage service, or if this has taken place too late for the Tongan ceremony to be held on the same day, she will return from her husband's home to her parents on the following day. Both bride

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

CHAPTER VIII.

THE town of Neiafu—Study of the language—First Tonguese sermon—Sketch of Joue Fiíta—Faubula, the son of the King of Lakemba—Vavau in 1846—A Sabbath day's labour—Calls for help—Variety of Missionary occupations—Administration of Medicine—Tonguese doctors—Instances of their skill—Visit and letter of Professor Harvey—"Protestant Missions Medical Aid Society"—Boat-building—Missionary Journal—Chapel-opening at Toula—A visit to Hologa—Tonguese Palanquin—Inauguration of oil contributions—Mode of burying foreigners at Toula—The God of Makave—Missionary tour to out-stations—Various services—Huga, and its cavern and Bay—Niuababu—Singular cavern—Native tradition—Lord Byron's poem of the "Island"—Cave at Falevai—Return to Neiafu—Sacramental service.

STANDING upon ground reputed sacred in heathen times, the town of Neiafu was of considerable note, and it was resorted to as a sort of neutral territory, in the wars of Haafuluhao. Its chief importance, however, in modern days, has resulted, like that of Nukualofa in Tongatabu, from its facilities for intercourse with Europeans, and from the concentration thither of Mission families and their influence.

The town is situated in a valley, stretching between the hill of Talau, and that which overhangs Neiafu Tahi. The immediate site of the town lies behind a small cove facing Neiafu Bay, in which stand several large *hala folaus*, or canoe sheds, into which the sea-going Kalias are drawn for shelter from the sun. These sheds resemble in form, but only on a much smaller scale, those that cover ships while in course of construction in our English naval yards. Ascending the rising ground behind these sheds, the path passes between the *abis* of the king, and those of several of the principal chiefs.

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

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In the days of the large Tongan double canoes, hangars or canoe huts such as the one pictured here were used for storing, repairing or constructing the magnificent double canoes near the seashore. The particular canoe hut in this engraving, which was done in 1827 during the visit to Tonga of the famous French explorer, Dumont d'Urville, sheltered the war-canoe of the chief Palu in Mu'a, Tongatapu.

Ko e anga eni e fa'ahinga fale 'a ia na'e tauhi ai e ngaahi fu'u kalia taumu'a ua. Na'e hoko e ngaahi fale ni ko ha tau'anga kalia, pea toe fai foki ai mo hono langa mo e monomono 'o e ngaahi vaka ni. Ko ha ta fakatata eni 'o e vaka 'o e 'aiki mei Mu'a ko Palu, 'a ia na'e fai he ta'u 1827 lolotonga e 'a'ahi mai ki Tonga 'a e tangata folautahi Falanise ko ia ko Dumont d'Urville.

501 the strong sails made from woven pandanus leaf
396 mats allowed the double canoes to be propelled at
[343] incredible speeds. For protection from the weather
[348] when not in use, or when being repaired between trips, the grandiose double canoes of Tonga were
501 pulled ashore into large canoe huts.[A] Shorter,
484 inter-island trips were made in outrigger canoes, *popao,* which are the only one of the original vessels
[178] to have remained up to the present day. However, with the introduction of modern boats, the *popao* have been somewhat modified in style and are used today mainly in the outer islands of Tonga only for fishing or traveling short distances.

[p. 5-B]

A [See category 343, p. 4--Analyst]

39· Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

The truly Tongan-style house has a thatched roof and sides made from plaited coconut fronds, as well as a separate facility in the back for cooking purposes. This 1952 photo of a Tongan house and kitchen is still representative of households in many villages and islands, although the use of concrete and iron as building materials is gradually increasing today.

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[MB]

Ko e fale Tonga mu'oni 'oku holisi mo 'ato lou niu, pea pehe pe foki mo e peito, hange ko ia 'i he ta ko eni na'e fai 'i he 1952. 'Oku kei lahi pe foki 'a hono ngaue'aki e fa'ahinga fale pehe ni 'i he ngaahi feitu'u kehekehe 'i Tonga.

45: Aoyagi E-5 (1962-1963) 1966 OU9 Tonga OU9
Nukuleka

may be as old as thirteen but no girl over thirteen years of age lives with either an older or younger brother. It is probable that boys are told to sleep in a separate place when the sisters reach the age of puberty.

The commonest way to separate boys from girls is to build another hut for the boys in the same *api kolo*, or to make the *fale kai* (dining hut) available to the boys. Occasionally the father moves and accompanies the sons (two cases) or the daughters (one case). The case of a complete separation is given by 9 who has accompanied four sons to eldest and married son's household in order to part them from their younger sister. These boys also take a meal and work with the brother's family. They seem to be allowed to live with their brother's wife in one room because she is not their sister-in-law but their *mali*.

The Name Giver[20]

The following table shows the name givers for 96 persons of 17 households in the village.

Name giver	First child	Second	Third and subsequent	Total
fa.	3	1	15	19
fa's fa.	1			1
fa's mo.	2		2	4
fa's bro.	1	1	5	7
fa's sis.	4	6	11	21
fa's fa's mo.	1	1	1	3
fa's mo's mo.			1	1
fa's fa's bro's gr. child			1	1
fa's fa's sis.	1			1
fa's fa's sis's da.	1			1
fa's mo's bro's da.	1			1
fa's mo's sis.			1	1
fa's mo's sis's so.		1	1	2
fa's sis's child			1	1
fa's sis's son's wife			1	1
fa's bro's wife			1	1
fa's relative		1	3	4
mo.		1	5	6
mo's mo.			3	3
mo's bro.			2	2
mo's bro's wife			1	1
mo's sis.			2	2
mo's mo's sis.			1	1
mo's mo's mo's bro.			1	1
mo's relative		1		1
not related	2		2	4
unknown			5	5
Total	17	13	66	96

20. A person's name may change sometimes two or three times in his life. But the name given on his birth is only one for each person.

361 residential use, but it cannot be allocated for residential
423 purposes because it has not yet been surveyed and divided into town allotments. A brother of one of the present title-holders has repeatedly bragged that he would cut up the man who cuts up his land, and the noble has avoided the risk of precipitating a crisis by not calling in the Department of Lands to make its survey. There is beginning to be a shortage of residential land in Motulahi, however, and already a number of town allotments are occupied by more than one household.

351 Town allotments present a decidedly non-uniform appearance. Besides whatever vegetation there may be on the 'api, each household has a number of different-looking
[342] structures. First, there is the main house, comprising
343 living and sleeping quarters. Then there is the beito, an
351 open-sided lean-to adjacent to the house or a few feet
[514] away, which serves as a kitchen or cook-house. Somewhat
[515] further away from the main house there is a small enclosure over a pit-latrine (fale mālōlō) and another enclosure,
[513] usually open-roofed, used for bathing (fale kaukau). In some cases, there are other structures as well, providing additional sleeping space. And there may also be an enclosure in which small animals such as chickens and pigs
351 are penned. Besides these structures, each 'api usually
[296] has a line or two of colorful laundry, and during the day there may be mats and bedding spread out to air. The look

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

here, though they are rather intended as conveniencys to their dwellings than a shelter to the plantations. They are made by passing two reeds together obliquely upwards over two others, and so on in such a manner that they form a pretty lattice work with rhomboidal spaces of about two inches to a side, though there are others made quite close by placing five or six together alternately over and under each other. The uneven tops are left uncut and the foot kept clean by digging up the grass with the Hooo, by which care & frequent repairs they seem to last a long time.

It is not easy to guess why these people who in many things show much taste and ingenuity should fall short in building their houses, not so much in the execution but design. Those of the lower people are poor huts scarcely sufficient to defend them from the weather and very small. Those of the better sort are larger and more comfortable but not what one would expect. The dimensions of a middling one is about thirty feet long, twenty broad and twelve high. It is properly speaking a sort of roof or shade, rounded at the ends, reaching to within two feet and a half (or three at most) of the ground all round, under which they creep in. It is supported by strong posts plac'd commonly at equal distances a little within the edge, with others laid along upon their tops and some laid across from these, which again have perpendicular ones rising from their middle to support the top ridge. These are firmly lash'd together with a cord made of Cocoa nut fibres, in which they indicate their taste for variety by mixing white and black so as always to represent som[e] regular figure. The frame on which the thatching is supported consists of well made laths laid in a very regular manner from top to bottom, with others running across in the same manner without them & fastend with the Cocoa cord. The thatch is chiefly of Cocoa & other leaves laid over these laths in such a way, by being doubled under them & intercepted by the next, that they need little fastening and to a thickness which makes them proof against the rain or wind. Some of the principal people have houses almost twice as large, and the Ma'laees or houses of public resort which are pretty numerous are still larger; but there is a sort commonly smaller than the dwelling houses, almost round and well clos'd on every side with reeds plac'd close together, except a small square hole to creep in at. These serve as store houses to preserve their cloth, matts, yams & other spare things in that their dwelling places may not be incumbered, and are so contriv'd that the reeds composing the sides point outwards, so that it seems to stand upon a narrow base, which with the thatch projecting over a little way effectually prevents any rain getting in. The houses of the

362 Since these are also the best endowed areas for 'api tukuhau, the recent migrant is likely to build in indigenous material while those in paid employment can afford and are likely to build a house entirely of imported materials. Table V demonstrates that 43 per cent of those household heads living in houses constructed of composite materials and 53 per cent of those living in houses constructed of indigenous materials were employed in agriculture. Furthermore, of those living in composite housing only 30 per cent had been born outside Tongatapu.

[369] The overall design, internal and external arrangements of these houses differ little from those of the countryside and this again demonstrates the persistence of traditional modes of life within the town. Many houses adhere to the traditional apsidal or oval floor plan but even those with non-traditional rectangular floor plans are arranged to meet the flexible demands of sleep and entertainment. [593] Adolescent boys have a separate sleeping hut in keeping with the [343] traditional practice of brother-sister avoidance. Living, eating, [171] cooking and washing activities take place in separate buildings in keeping with practices traditional to much of Polynesia.

511 Tongans living in houses of composite materials have more 184 copra driers on their 'api kolo, clear evidence of their active involvement in agriculture. They own more horses and carts, buy less [264] imported food than those living in large wooden houses. They are more likely to follow the rural practice of eating two and not three meals a day (see Table VI). Their women folk are more involved in the making of tapa in the kautaha koko'anga, in making other Tongan handicrafts, and are active in attendance at the fale hiva or choir house of the local church.

443 A town's bazaar sector, labour intensive and family directed, [369] is considered by some students of Asian cities to bear at least close resemblance to and have close links with the rural peasantry and therefore deserves some brief mention here. [433] The bazaar sector in Nuku'alofa is not well developed. This is because the Tongan economy itself is underdeveloped, consequently offering fewer opportunities. The main activities in the bazaar sector are small-scale trading from single room shops which sell at prices slightly in excess of the European firms from where they have purchased their goods; the hawking of handicraft goods mainly to tourists; and the sale of primary produce such as ground foods, kava, Tongan oil and shellfish. 443 In some cases the people involved are middlemen acting for villagers, 441 and one group, the fakafefine, have some form of loose cooperation which cuts across kin affiliations. The fakafefine (the word means "like a woman") work in teams, each team jealously guarding its round of customers. Some have groups of women manufacturing the articles they sell and most have trading arrangements beyond Nuku'alofa and

593 561 554 [601] Under this system only constituents of the category tokoua 'siblings of ego's sex' can either be of higher rank of lower rank than ego by virtue of seniority. In this case there is a terminological distinction with older siblings of the same sex referred to as ta'okete and younger siblings of the same sex referred to as tehina. Kaeppler (1971: 176) suggests that age ranking is not very important, but it seems quite important within the sibling group for establishing order of dominance and subordination, for determining leadership on formal occasions and, of course, for determining inheritance. Figure 2 illustrates kin ranking. A

'Api: A Household

592 The term 'api is best translated as 'household' but it can also denote a plot of land for residence or gardening, or it can be used to refer to persons living together in a household. The Tongan household is the primary unit of production and normally functions as the largest unit for resource management.

592 351 Each household is situated on a compound covering 1 rood, 24 perches of village land.[2] Each structure on a compound is referred to according to its function; households usually consist of a sleeping house (fale mohe), a cookhouse (fale kai or peito), a roofless bathing stall (fale kaukau), and a covered toilet (fale malolo). Sleeping houses vary in design from traditional thatch houses to brick houses with corrugated iron roofs. In houses of the more traditional design partitions are absent except for tapa cloth (ngatu) curtains separating the sleeping

342 343 342 [178]

A [See p. 45--Analyst]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 46]

77: Whitcombe Y-3 (no date) 1930 OU9 Tonga OU9

342 *kako* sticks are placed in position around the sides of the house and bound with *kafa*, to form a siding which is called *lu kaho*.

The door (*mataba*) of a Tongan house is made from coconut leaves plaited and tied together, and is arranged to pull up and down [352] (*bola*). The floor is made by leveling the earth on which the house stands and covering it first with dry coconut leaves, then with very [285] young coconut leaves plaited into mats. These mats are dried in the sun a few days before being used.

342 343 There are three types of Tongan houses: the dwelling house (*fale nofoaga*): the store house in which all food is kept (*fale fekeoko*), and the kitchen or cooking house (*fale keito*).

BUILDING THE CANOE

396 The Tongans make their canoes from any one of several trees: the *buko vili*, the *tavahi*, the *toi*, the *bibi*, the *gatae*, the *fotulona*, and the *vi*. A large tree of one of these species is cut down, shaped, and the center scooped out. The outrigger (*hama*) is then made from the wood of the *tou* tree, and the outrigger sticks from the wood of the *bibi* tree (*bibi fai lolo*). The joins are made from the *tutu uli*, and the *hama* bound with *kafa* which is made from coconut husk fiber. Finally, the paddles are made, a large coconut shell provided as a bailer, and the canoe is ready for the sea.

501 The ordinary canoe is termed *babao* and the seagoing canoe *kalia*.

NATIVE METHODS OF FISHING

226 Diving (*ukuuku*). The diver, equipped with a one-pronged spear, dives down beside the coral reefs and hunts for fish that may be hidden in the caves of the reef. Sometimes the native divers secure rock cod, sharks, and other fish nearly as large as themselves.

Fish traps (*ba ika*). These are built by placing sticks in a circle, fence-fashion, leaving a gate or door into the circle. To a long creeper (*valai*), used as a rope, are attached split coconut leaves to act as wings or guides. The fish get inside these guides and follow them into the trap. The fence is erected in the tide and inspected when the tide is low.

Turtle nets (*kupega fonu*). These are made from coconut string (*kafa*), and are placed in the center of passages in the reef to trap the fish.

CHAPTER V

PLANT ASSOCIATIONS AND AGRICULTURAL PRACTICES ON TOWN ALLOTMENTS.

125 Data were collected during a survey of 192 town allotments, 113 in Nuku'alofa and 79 in the rural villages of Fo'ui - Ha'avakatolo (20), Niutoua (12), 'Utulau (24) and Fua'amotu (16) (Figure 3). A

351 Town allotments on Tongatapu average about one-half
342 acre or less and usually contain a sleeping house (fale
343 mohe) and, depending on the type and size of household, a number of other structures, including separate kitchens (peito), other smaller sleeping houses (fale mohe), out-
351 houses (fale vao), and washhouses. (Fale kaukau). Other improvements may include fences, water supply systems, and
351 livestock pens. The vegetation complex ranges from almost
241 untended to highly cultivated subsistence and ornamental gardens.

241 In the discussion of gardens on bush allotments, the
128 acreage of different crops was considered; however, owing to the limited cultivable area on town allotments, only the presence and relative abundance of crops and important tree species will be discussed. No consideration will be given here to commercial crops and fallow vegetation because they occupy negligible areas on town allotments.

A [See Category 116, p. 14--Analyst.]

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Selected Agricultural Practices and Conditions

All allotments had at least one main sleeping house or fale mohe (Table 43).

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Table 43. Frequency occurrence of specified housetypes on 192 town allotments (113 in Nuku'alofa and 79 in rural villages) (The numbers in parentheses indicate the number of allotments with more than one of a given housetype).

Housetype	Nuku'alofa Number of Occurrences	Rural Number of Occurrences
Large Wooden	64 (3)	27
Large Brick	11	8
Small Wooden	19 (1)	5
Thatch	56 (3)	42
TOTAL	150 (7)	82

[343] The rural areas have a lower percentage of large wooden houses than the Nuku'alofa area. The frequency of occurrence of other structures such as separate kitchens (peito), outhouses (fale vao) and wash houses (fale kaukau) reflected no significant differences between the rural and urban areas.

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[417] A large number of allotments, particularly in Nuku'alofa, were fenced with either barbed wire or living fences (Table 44). Cordyline terminalis (si) generally

241 range of subsistence products.

241 The average town allotment generally has at least one
35 main dwelling or sleeping house (fale mohe) plus a number
[342] of other structures, such as separate kitchens (peito),
[343] wash houses (fale kaukau), outhouses (fale vao), and in
some cases pig sties. On a majority of the town allotments
[369] in Nuku'alofa, and to a lesser extent in the rural villages,
fences were found around the entire allotment or around
[417] portions used for keeping livestock. Fences for livestock
[245] were usually of barbed wire. Those which were more orna-
mental or used to delineate property boundaries were often
living fences or hedges, most commonly of Hibiscus spp.
241 and Nothopanax spp. Wells, rainfall catchment systems, and
312 private water pipes were common on town allotments in
369 Nuku'alofa. In the rural areas, water was generally
obtained from centrally located village water pipes.

241 Within this setting, a great variety of livestock,
231 staple crops, and other valuable plants and trees were
found. Almost all allotments had some livestock; over
half had chickens, dogs, and pigs, while horses, cats, ducks,
241 goats, and cattle were found on several. In Nuku'alofa, the
231 law prohibits pigs and other animals except poultry roaming
369 free. On rural town allotments, however, over half of those
sampled had loose pigs. These constitute a major deterrent
241 to the cultivation of certain crops. Staple crops were
369 cultivated in limited acreages on about half of all town

/44 cont./

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/Description/. loc. cit. VI. p. 281.
Voyage de Dentrecasteaux. loc. cit.
I. p. 310.

but the means employed for keeping the body clean changed. Soap and towel found their way to the smallest island. This development was encouraged early on by the missionaries. Because of the low cost of soap (Australian "palmolive" /cited in English/ and "lux" /cited in English/ cost only 7 d.T. = 0.28 German marks), no Tongan nowadays takes the trouble to make the old cleansing agents (for example, from the bark of the fiho'a shrub), although these are still known and in times of scarcity (for example, during the second World War) may definitely be used. -- Very seldom does one see adult
515 natives bathing in the sea. Only children, say between three and 13 years, like to splash about in the sea and the surf. Yet the adults are mostly skillful swimmers. However, they avoid the sea water as much as possible "because the salt has a disagreeable effect on the skin," (98)

98. This was already mentioned by Cook (J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. p. 281).

and after such a bath a special freshwater sponge bath seems necessary. The majority of Tongans wash themselves thoroughly with freshwater (collected rain water) at least once a day, mainly in the evening,
515 after work in the plantings, for instance. For this purpose most
343 families have on their grounds small "bath huts" (99)

99. Counts in 'Uiha/'Uhia and Fungamisi/ Vava'u showed that of 100 households (45 respectively) 81 (25 respectively) own bath huts.

made of plaited coconut palm leaves (pola), old timber, sheet metal or corrugated iron, and on a surface area of about 2.5 square meters they have a zinc tub or an old wooden bowl as the only piece of equipment.

/64 cont./

589
162 over 40 years: 12 male natives
(8 widowers "
1 divorced)
5 female "
(1 widowed,
1 divorced)

Thus, among the natives over 40 years of age in 'Uiha there are only 2 men and 3 women who, in the course of their lives, did not enter into a regular marriage.

/65/ The non-married, marriageable persons in the village of Fungamisi (total population 263) may be divided into the following age groups:

under 25 years:	12 male	natives
	21 female	"
between 25 and 40 years:	6 male	"
	5 female	"
	(1 widowed, 1 divorced)	
over 40 years:	3 male	"
	(1 widower)	
	4 female	"
	(all widows)	

Thus, among the natives over 40 years of age in Fungamisi there are only two men who have not yet entered into a regular marriage in the course of their lives.

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162 The size of the Tongan household, that is the total number of natives living together on one property (married couples, children, resident relatives, see above) amounts to 6.7 persons for Nomuka,
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343 6.5 for 'Uiha and 6 for Fungamisi. The buildings of such a household usually consist of one living (=sleeping) house (or several), (185)

185. In 'Uhia, 59 households have one house each, 39 households have two, and two households have three such houses; in Fungamisi 36 households have one house each, eight households have two houses each and one

592 /65 cont./

342 household has three.

343 one cook hut, a small "bath" house, and a latrine hut. (186)

186. Of the 100 households in the village of 'Uiha, 12 have no cook hut, 19 have no small bath house and 17 have no latrine hut; in the 45 households of Fungamisi there are six without cook huts, 20 without small bath houses and five without latrine huts.

163 The Tongan family of today has an average of barely four children.
592 (187)

187. The figures worked out by the author for 'Uiha and Fungamisi are 3.8 and 3.7; deceased children were not counted, but included were those who had left to go to school in Tongatapu, etc.

592 In addition, there are adopted children, that is the children of
599 relatives, who are taken in by some families for a rather long period, often until they reach adulthood; (188)

188. For example, children of the husband's sister or brother, the wife's sister or brother.

children of fellow-villagers or other acquaintances are less often
162 adopted. "Adoption" assumes the following proportions: Of 289
599 children under 16 years of age in 'Uiha, 254 live with their natural parents and 35 with their adoptive parents. We find there a total of 23 families with adopted children (14 with one child each, six with two children each, three with three each). In Fugamisi, 11 of the 128 children under 16 years are adopted and live in seven families (four families with one child each, two with two children each, one
597 with three children). These adoptions are very seldom official (that is, for which a registration fee of two pounds was paid by the adoptive parents to the Supreme Court. /cited in English/). Usually, /66/ an adoption takes place if one day the small child of a relative (or fellow-villager) is asked for, and is taken into the household

/84 cont./

165 and since this figure has doubled in the past three decades, (240)
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240. For example, for 1919. 22,689 Tonga are reported (E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society. p. 6) and for 1949, 45,690 (Colonial Office, Report on Tonga for the Year 1949 / cited in English/. London 1950. p. 5).

(113)

we must assume that this birth surplus did not exist in the past. [144] Undoubtedly, the improved health service is one of the reasons for this change. However, if we consider the still very inadequate medical help and the indifference and negligence of the population of most of the small islands of the Archipelago, we must conclude that the population increase has other reasons as well. Yet, since the Tonga [842] in the past had no sort of birth control and it is not possible to explain the present excess of births /over deaths/ by a "psychic strengthening" of these natives, since there is no indication that they were formerly "psychically weaker," it is very difficult to interpret this change.

844 In general, we may say about the birth /process/ in Tonga that it
178 still takes place largely in the ancient Tongan manner, although
177 growing European influences must be reported. These may also be seen in infant care (diet and clothing).

/85/

Death

761 The odd, yet to the Tongans already quite natural, coupling
177 of ancient Tongan traditions with Christian customs and European
178 material attributes, which we observed in wedding and birth, becomes especially clear to us in /a consideration of/ death and burial.

763 For an old man who is near death the Tongans sometimes build,
343 as they did in olden times for dying chiefs, (241)

241. Compare E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society, p. 199.

a special small house where he is laid in preparation for death. This not only gives the dying person special dignity, but it is also

/85 cont./

763 a relief for his family, since one may not smoke, for example, in a
[343] house where there is a dead person, and children may not enter such
[565] a house. In most cases, however, at least among commoners, death takes place in the family dwelling. The dying one, insofar as his condition will permit, speaks to his family who are assembled at his bedside. Until the end, they try, with medicines, to keep life from
764 going out. When he has expired, his wife washes his body with water and European soap. A deceased wife is washed by her daughter. The
[784] child-father taboo is thus observed even in death. The deceased is
[593] then dressed by his wife in a new white shirt and a white textile vala (a deceased woman by her daughter in correspondingly good women's clothes). The body is covered from feet to chin with a white or light blue satin sheet and over this (or around the body) are laid three (or more) of the finest mats (kie Tonga or fine Samoa mats) which cover the corpse completely from the neck down (feta'u=death clothes).

In the center of the house the corpse is then laid on mats (for example, fala paongo, fala tofua) which are covered with tapa (ngatu tahina). Often, perfume of eau de cologne is fetched from a shop and is sprinkled on the deceased; his hair is rubbed with Tongan oil (lolo Tonga) and is combed. The face of the corpse is covered with
[784] a hankerchief. The person who ministers to the dead man (or woman) is thereafter subject to no taboo (for instance, food taboo).

The relatives of the deceased and of the surviving spouse arrive. They kiss the deceased in Tongan fashion ('uma)[A] and take a seat in the house. The widow sits near the head of the deceased around whom the sons, the daughters and the rest of the kinfolk gather. They pray,
[354] weep and give themselves up to their grief. Gasoline /86/ lamps (some
[177] ten) lent by the villagers are placed around the corpse; they are a
[565] substitute for the traditional lamps or torches, (242)

242. Compare E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society, p. 200.

[A] [i.e., the nose kiss. See footnote 218 on p. 109--Analyst]

/127 cont./

342 (113) 348. The illustrations in Tasman's Journal (Abel Janszoon Tasman's Journal of his discovery... /cited in English/ Amsterdam 1898; the pictures following the 23rd and 25th January 1643) show houses which do not seem to be storage huts and have (apparently plaited reed) walls which are interrupted only by door openings. These illustrations are in contrast to the data in the rest of the sources (mentioned above).

342 352 [824] The inside of the dwelling was generally one large room. The floor, which was raised about a foot, was beaten hard and covered with dried leaves and grasses on which lay coconut palm leaves. Strong mats plaited of reed and curved semicircularly were set up inside the room to divide it up. The dwellings of commoners (on the plantations) were of the same construction, but most probably smaller and simpler (for example, always covered with coconut palm leaves and without the lowerable mat curtains). Besides the dwellings, there were also rather large meeting houses and guest houses of chiefs, storage houses (with walls that slanted inward toward the floor), cook huts, and boat houses.

342 178 (177) In ancient Tonga, house construction had a certain uniformity, with each house built for a special purpose corresponding in its basic elements to every other one that served the same purpose, whereas today, as a result of the aforementioned changes, there is a diversity of types to be seen. Dwellings may be subdivided chiefly into the ancient Tonga form (long house with rounded, narrow sides) and the types resembling European construction (rectangular or also square houses that often have a veranda). Different kinds of building material result in a number of further variations. These, as well as the proportion of the different types, may be seen in the following survey conducted in six villages of the Archipelago.

/133 cont./

342 floor is no longer raised by about /134/ one foot. In such houses
178 greater dampness easily arises, which can cause the inhabitants
(164) rheumatism, among other things. The house built in the ancient Tongan style--with the slight elevation of the floor--is said by physicians to be the type best adapted to that climate. The former customary partitioning of the room by moveable, plaited mats of reed in a semicircle have today been replaced by curtains of tapa or of cotton (more seldom by board walls) [hanging from] two opposite posts, partitioning off one of the round ends of the house (in some cases, both
(177) round ends) as the sleeping quarters. The European-like constructions of the "box type" and "veranda type" (of timber and corrugated sheet metal) are usually raised one-half to one meter above the ground on posts and have a wooden floor which is, naturally, dry and, by its elevation, provides a certain protection against ants, beetles, etc.
(435) This advantage must, however, be dearly paid for in the high cost of such a house and the often high temperature and bad air inside. Interior walls with doors subdivide the larger of these houses, whereas in the smaller ones the sleep area is closed off with a curtain of tapa or cotton.

344 The ancient Tongan meeting houses and guest houses of chiefs
178 have disappeared. Of larger houses in the villages we find today
346 above all the churches which are built on the ancient Tongan ground
177 plan or as European-like buildings. The schools and kautaha houses.
178 (361)

361. See pp. 134-135, 137-140.

are mostly built of timber and corrugated metal in rectangular shape and usually do not exceed in size the larger European-type dwellings.
343 The ancient Tongan storehouses have also passed into oblivion. Today,
178 many families no longer own a storehouse; for the rest, simple huts

/134 cont./

343 (or various materials and all kinds of shapes) or vacant dwellings
178 serve to store supplies. Almost every household, however, has a cook
343 hut which is usually put up as a "stick construction" with a very
252 simple shape and is covered [on top and sides] with interlaced coconut-palm leaves (pola); sometimes bamboo (walls), timber and corrugated metal are also used. The families who do not own a cook hut cook in the open (for example, under a large tree) or at a neighbor's, never
[178] inside the dwelling. The ancient Tongan custom of separating dwelling and kitchen has thus been retained. As a result of efforts on the part
343 of authorities, most Tongan households today have separate latrine huts
514 covered with interwoven coconut-palm twigs (pola) or with timber and/
178 or corrugated metal. The /135/ little "bath" houses erected on most
343 properties, in which people wash in a zinc tub or a wash basin. often
515 consist of only three pola-walls; some are also built of wood and
343 corrugated metal and are roofed-over. Boat houses occur now and then in the shape of simple roofs covered with interwoven coconut-palm leaves, which are supposed to protect sailboats temporarily out of service from the inclemencies of the weather. Roofed-over work areas
[178] (especially for women) on many properties in the villages have similar, simple roofs, as in old times. (362)

362. See G. Forster, loc. cit. I. p. 139.

342 To sum up, we may say that today in the Tonga Archipelago there
178 are no longer any dwellings which correspond exactly to the ancient
177 Tongan dwelling. However, despite the new building material and the model of the simpler, rectangular constructions, one-half (and more) or the numerous types or today show the old form of the long house with rounded narrow sides. With this has arisen a fusion of the old and the new which strikes us as strange.

342 For house-building in ancient Tonga there were specialists
463

/191/

252 The Tongans prepare their food as in old times in (or near
[343] special cook huts (485)
[178]

485. See pp. 93-94.

on their properties; nowadays, meals are sometimes also prepared on the plantations if these are more distant from the villages. The
252 natives use various methods. Most often they cook in pots. The
415 Tongans erect simple hearths of stones or old corned-beef cans and
177 iron rods laid over them. On this they set an iron pot or kettle, or
[372] an empty zwieback can, in which the food is cooked, while the fire underneath the container is fed with coconut husks and shells as well as firewood. Cooking (haka) in pots is most probably not an ancient
[439] Tongan custom. But for a long time the islanders have obtained clay pots from the Fiji Islands,

486. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 284.

A century and a half ago they also began using iron pots which they obtained from European ships; (487)

487. Ibid.

however, it has only been in the past few decades, with the commercial development of the South Seas, that cooking in pots has become the
252 predominant custom in food preparation. The characteristic Tongan way of preparing food is to stew it in the earth-oven. This is more work for the natives than boiling, but it is still often practiced even for everyday cooking (especially on the smaller islands); on Sundays, festivals and other special occasions, preparing an earth-oven is taken for granted in most Tongan families.

A typical, carefully prepared earth-oven ('umu) in Tonga is today put together in the following way: In the village, inside or next to their cook hut (or, if a meal is planned on the plantation, on a place there) the natives dig a circular hole, the size depending